UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

A Vision

By FRANK C. DOAN

A Plea for *Laissez-Faire*

By FRANK W. GARRISON

The Story of My Mind—XVI

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1925 NUMBER 16

If ever mankind is to find peace, it must be the sort of peace shared by all. If ever we are to get rid of violence and outrage, it will only be when we each and all refuse to use violence and outrage to right our own wrongs. As I see it, all the world today is engaged in the task of proving that it is our neighbor who is wrong, not ourselves.

To me all war is civil war, all strife is fratricide, because I believe in the brotherhood of man. Therefore, all war, whether caused by capitalists or workmen, is by me deplored. All the same, I can see that humanity has many a hard, bitter road to travel before we reach the goal. We are like children who will go their own way in spite of warnings and entreaties by guardians and parents. Yet, somehow, we move onward, and out of the storms and stress of our days a nobler order will arise refined and purified of all the dross which today drags us down. We can hate iniquity, hate evil doing, but must never hate men and women. Hard and difficult as is the task, let us face the future with hearts full of love, with an understanding that looks beyond the meannesses of our day, toward the true goal of all human endeavor, which is the establishment of the kingdom of reason, built not upon domination and force, but upon liberty, equality and fraternity.

—George Lansbury.

We have admiration and profound respect for the militarists of this country—the army and navy men, the Legionaires, the super-patriots of one kind and another, who seek to turn this nation into an armed camp and its citizens into conscripts. These men know exactly what they want, they go right out after it, and nine times out of ten they get it. If they make a mistake or meet a rebuff, they recover instantly and move straight on. This matter of "Goose-Step Day," camouflaged as Defence Day, is a case in point! After last year's experience, when the mobilization idea met with a degree of indignant opposition which made its observance, even in the lustre of Pershing's name, a rather ridiculous fiasco, we thought we had seen the end of the thing. It was our prophecy, in these very columns, that "Goose-Step Day" would never be heard of again. But we reckoned without our militarist! He may lose a battle now and then, but one battle does not make a campaign any more than one swallow makes a summer. So here he is again, with his same old proposal that we set aside another day for all the flags to wave, all the bands to play, all the tin-soldiers to march, and the nation generally to flaunt its military might in the face of a distracted and desperate world. His first idea, to have his mobilization on Armistice Day, was a mistake. It was a thoroughly characteristic bit of impudence—to use the day consecrated to the memory of "the war to end war" to display preparation for the next war—but it was "2 mutch," as Artemus Ward used to put it. So, thanks to the President, the "Goose-Step" performance has been shifted to July 4th, and we are now all asked to join in celebrating our birth as a nation by persuading every other nation to fear and hate us as a menace to the peace and order of the world. The militarists, in other words, have carried their point. We are to have a grand military debauch whether we like it or not.

Of course, the July 4th demonstration will be even more of a fizzle than that of last year. The time available for whipping-up the people to this kind of a performance is utterly inadequate. The propaganda machinery for the dissemination of militarist "bunk" requires weeks and even months for operation in a vast country like ours. A year ago, with ample opportunity for preparation, and with all the excitement of Pershing Day to give it momentum, the result was ludicrous. Imagine what will happen this year with only a few days available to get things ready! Then, too, July 4th is not a day that the people can be persuaded to use for the silly business of marching and countermarching. This precious holiday—the only one between Memorial Day and Labor Day in the hottest period of the year, is dedicated to the great out-of-doors. Games and sports, hikes to the mountains, visits to the sea-shore, automobile excursions, these constitute the program of the day. Especially is this true this year, when Independence Day comes on a Saturday and thus gives the full week-end for the coveted outings. A nearly 100 per cent failure of the mobilization test is therefore a certainty. But here is the real danger in the situation! The military men will have an alibi. They will be able to say that the goose-stepping was a failure because the day appointed for the affair was badly chosen. They will urge what the New York *Times* and other newspapers are already urging, that

> Defense Day should have a character of its own and a separate place in the regard of the people. . . . To make it a national holiday would not be necessary. There could be an adequate observance on any secular working day from Spring to Fall, preferably Saturday.

Here is the issue at this moment for the pacifists! We need waste no worry or bother over this year's affair—it is already doomed to failure. Our job is to stop the setting aside of some regular and special date as an annual event on the calendar.

It amuses us to watch the newspapers come and go. We imagine that the situation ought rather to make us weep, but for our own health at least it is better to laugh than to cry. Indeed, if we didn't persistently see the humor of things, we sometimes wonder how we would manage to survive. The newspapers, as

they appear and disappear, certainly present a tragic spectacle. In New York City, in recent months, we have lost the *Herald,* the *Mail,* the *Sun,* and the *Globe* —four great journals, with history, traditions, and great achievements behind them. Other cities present a similar phenomenon. Thus the Philadelphia *North American,* made famous by its brilliant editor, Mr. E. A. Van Valkenburg, has recently been purchased by Cyrus H. K. Curtis, merged with his *Public Ledger,* and thus annihilated. This leaves Philadelphia with only three morning newspapers, less than half the number that this city had thirty years ago. Chicago to-day has only two morning newspapers, and several cities boasting hundreds of thousands of people are reduced to one. Recent casualties in this field are rivalled only by the record of automobile killings. But newspapers are coming as well as going—that is, if the new sheets now appearing in the journalistic field can be called "newspapers"! New York, for example, in place of Bennett's *Herald,* Dana's *Sun,* and that fearless and enlightened paper, the *Globe,* now has the *Daily News,* the *Graphic,* and the *Mirror,* three tabloid picture-sheets, filled with murders, adulteries, scandals, sports, comics and puzzles, and showing a grade of intelligence not above three or four years, with no morals at all. The noble *Advertiser,* of Boston, has been transformed into a similar kindergarten-gutter journal. Still more disturbing is the invasion of our best surviving papers, such as the New York *Tribune* and *World,* by the infantile pictorial and other features which make these new papers so appalling. The best is going, and the worst is coming. Journalistic standards are steadily and rapidly falling. What kind of newspapers will we have in 1950?

We have spoken much in these columns of the social and political reaction in the midst of which we are now engulfed. It is interesting to notice how this reaction is manifested in the religious world in exactly the same degree as in the wider world of practical affairs. In two ways, at least, sudden and sharp reversion has seized the churches. We see this, first, in Fundamentalism, that incredible revival of superstitious ideas and methods of thought which is now running riot, especially in the more orthodox groups. Who would have believed ten years ago that the evolution fight would have to be fought over again, that the higher criticism of the Bible would be successfully challenged, that the maddest pre-millennialite doctrines would again be in the ascendancy? Without any warning we find ourselves back three hundred years in the past with modernism never so disorganized, so weak, nor so cowardly. In the second place, as a sign of the religious reaction of the times, there is the revival of denominationalism. The churches, liberal as well as orthodox, have suddenly become consumed with sectarian fervor and are living primarily for sectarian interests. That splendid movement for church unity known as the Inter-Church World Movement was ruined by this spirit of division. The community church movement, splendidly hopeful a few years ago, is now being bedeviled by the intrusion of the denominational ideal. Here again we are back in the benighted past, when church fought church in the interest of the Lord. The only consolation in the situation, in the religious world as in the political and social, is the way the reactionaries are overplaying their advantage. For the moment they are triumphant; but such arrogance and ignorance as they are everywhere displaying must in the end lead to a counter-reaction of militant liberalism. Nothing could be much darker than the present hour, but hours have a way of marching on, and they move always toward the day.

Point is lent to the above statement of the general situation by what was done by the Presbyterian General Assembly, meeting lately at Columbus, Ohio. After what seemed to be an opening and decisive defeat in the election of Dr. Charles R. Erdman as Moderator, the Fundamentalists scored a tremendous victory in the Assembly's endorsement of the complaint of Rev. Albert D. Gantz, who challenged the right of the Presbytery of New York to license ministers who did not affirm positive belief in the Virgin Birth. This action, we are told, "stunned the commissioners from the New York Presbytery," who are the outstanding liberals of the church. We do not wonder, for the result means the capture of Presbyterianism by the Fundamentalists. The avoidance of disaster now, by the appointment of a committee "to study the present spiritual condition of our Church and the causes making for unrest and to report to the next General Assembly," only serves to postpone the inevitable a twelve-month. Dr. Clarence E. Macartney, of Philadelphia, retiring Moderator, states the exact facts when he says—

> The decision makes it clear that it is irregular and unconstitutional for a Presbytery to license men who say they cannot affirm certain doctrines. The decision points out that the constitution of the Church requires complete and enthusiastic affirmation of the doctrines of the Confession of Faith.
>
> "The virgin birth of our Lord Jesus Christ by decision of the highest court of the Presbyterian Church is declared to be an essential doctrine of the confession of faith. No Presbytery anywhere can dare to license men who refuse to affirm their faith in the doctrine of the virgin birth after this decision of the judicial commission. The decision has splendidly pointed out that the confession of faith rests upon the Holy Scriptures, and that no man can deny the narratives of St. Matthew and St. Luke and the incarnation of God in Christ without denying also the confession of faith.

He well adds, in triumphant ululation,

> All that we have been hoping, striving and praying for and witnessing to in the face of widespread ridicule, misrepresentation and opposition, has been magnificently vindicated. . . . There is still a God in Israel.

The Fundamentalists, in other words, are in complete control. The powers of darkness have put to flight the powers of light. It is a sad day for the cause of intelligence and the spirit of progress in religion. One may be pardoned, however, for wondering how much

the so-called liberals are themselves responsible for this disaster by their failure or refusal to deal with clear-cut thought and honest speech with the issues involved.

Reports from the Presbyterian General Assembly came to us in the newspapers at about the same time that we were reading full reports of the Unitarian meetings in Boston in the pages of the *Christian Register*. The contrast between the proceedings of these two great denominational gatherings was one of the most impressive things that we have encountered in recent years. Here were the Presbyterians rent with dissension, distracted with anxiety and foreboding, and—worst of all! —giving over the precious hours of their national meeting to fierce discussions of such theological doctrines as the Virgin Birth and such ecclesiastical issues as the power of the national Assembly over the local presbytery. Plenty of bitterness, even hatred, in this convention of Christians! But where were fellowship, brotherly love, concern for human need, any aspects of what we know as true religion? Here on the other hand were the Unitarians, united, happy, free of care, warm with friendship and goodwill, eager as one body of comrades for the work which they understand themselves chosen to do in the world. There was great concern for denominational interests, as there was much transaction of denominational business, but all had direct relation with living issues of the hour. Not the threshing of dead straw in the strangling atmosphere of dust and chaff, but the cultivation of growing organisms in the clear, fresh sunlight of God's open air, was the occupation of these Unitarians. There was *religion* in the hearts of these people—not a religion final or perfect, as many of them would be quick to admit, but a religion "true and undefiled."—If we ask for an explanation of this contrast between Presbyterians and Unitarians, do we not find it in the curious paradox that the former have deliberately sought unity through imposing conformity to the iron rigor of a creed, while the latter have left unity to take care of itself in the full freedom of the questing mind and the loving heart?—Not confinement but emancipation, not the letter of authority but the spirit of life—this is the way to fellowship! Whatever our regrets and reservations as regards Unitarianism and we have not a few, nothing can shake our affection for Unitarians, and our admiration for their triumphant vindication of the law of liberty.

Mention of Presbyterians, Unitarians, etc., brings to mind the recent action of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in accepting the ministry of the Park Avenue Baptist Church in New York (see "Jottings"). Dr. Fosdick's theological position is so amusingly familiar to out-and-out liberals in religion—what he is now saying and doing the Unitarians, for example, have been saying and doing for so many decades, with so much greater precision of thought and forthrightness of action—that there is grave danger of the real significance of his move being altogether missed. This significance, as we see it, is two-fold. In the first place, Dr. Fosdick's position indicates most impressively how far toward the *left* the liberal wing of the orthodox churches has been swinging in recent years. This "heretic" uses a lot of good old-time phrases about Jesus Christ, and will not apparently, for Truth's sake, or any other sake, deny the dogmas of Biblical inspiration, the Virgin Birth, and all the rest. But it is perfectly plain, all the same, to those who can see beneath the surface, that Dr. Fosdick in his inmost spirit is in exact accord with the Unitarians. And what is true of him is true as well of all the liberals, or Modernists, in various churches, whom he represents. The net result of Fundamentalism, in other words, is to drive the orthodox liberals straight into the arms of the Unitarians, and thus vindicate utterly these brave and consistent theological pioneers. In the second place, Dr. Fosdick's position has significance as the straightest and hardest blow against denominationalism that has yet been struck inside the organized churches. In so far as it is legally and spiritually possible for him to do so, Dr. Fosdick is transforming the Park Avenue Baptist church into a non-sectarian institution. It is far removed from being a community church, especially in relation to the peculiar characteristics of the New York community, but it is a long step in that direction all the same. In these two regards, Dr. Fosdick is doing big things!

A Vision

Sin is social. A man in his folly not only corrupts his own little personal and private soul. He corrupts the soul of all humanity. He weakens the whole fabric of human society. Suppose we put it in a figure of speech. Thus:

Were I a magician I would like to take every man who is today degrading the manhood that is within him, —take him and spirit him away onto some high promontory overlooking the sea. I would bid him look away across the waters. And I would touch his eyes with magic wand so that the waves out there would appear to him as great waves of humanity,—a sea of human faces, each wave, as it were some man or woman or little child of his own heart, and all together as it were this vast sea of life we call humanity. And I would make him to see how every human life blends into every other, even as the waves blend together in the great ocean itself. Yes, and how each man, whether he will or not, does give of his life and spirit to the Life and Spirit of all mankind, even as each wave gives of

its strength to the daily tides of the sea, now in times of storm, now in times of calm.

And then I would say to him in a still small voice:

"Go down, my brother, into that great sea of humanity there, and sin, if you will. Be unclean, unjust, ungenerous, if you will. Only remember that your sin, neither it nor the consequence of it, will stop with yourself alone. It will be taken up and carried abroad, wave after wave. It will reach out to your child, your friend, your neighbor, your fellow-citizen. And so on and on till the whole sea of humanity will be muddied and sullied by your passing moment of infidelity to the Most High within you. Alas, yes.

"But, ah, do you choose the nobler, happier course, resolved to forget past mistakes and follies, and to go forward with a heart set upon living henceforth as a clean, just, high-minded, noble-hearted wave of the spirit of this earth? Be assured then that your life shall count, not merely in the little bay where your lot is cast with your own children and friends and neighbors. Nay, more than that! The influence of your life will reach out into the great ocean beyond. It will touch distant continents at last! Men and women and little children who never heard so much as your name, will still feel within them the influence of your spirit, the spirit of justice and good will in which you are even now living out your days in this, your seemingly isolated and inconsequential corner of the world."

Sin is social? Yes. But so is righteousness!

FRANK C. DOAN.

Jottings

"At no time since the Treaty of Versailles has France practiced 'an anti-German policy'."—Poincaré.

So! Then it must be true that at no time has Senator Borah practiced an anti-League of Nations policy; at no time has the Ku Klux practiced an anti-Negro policy; at no time has Soviet Russia practiced an anti-capitalistic policy. This is a cinch—we could keep it up forever by simply denying flatly anything and everything that is known to be true.

Why is it that, whenever an investigation of church attendance is made, without warning or preparation, the average church is found practically empty? A suburban clergyman in New York City, arrested for speeding, was released on condition that he preach an anti-speeding sermon the next Sunday. A reporter of the New York *World* went to see what happened, and found a congregation of "seventeen elderly men, nineteen elderly women and nine children"!

The American Medical Association, at its recent Atlantic City Convention, revised the action of the Association in 1917 declaring in effect that alcohol was not necessary in the treatment of disease. What was an unnecessary drug in 1917, in other words, is now a necessary drug. Our infallible physicians seem to act strangely like our infallible judges!

"The Official Report of the British Trades Union Delegation to Russia" in November and December, 1924, has just come to our hands from London. A cursory examination of the handsomely printed volume shows that it is the most important statement yet made about the facts of the Bolshevist regime, and also why the English newspapers foamed at the mouth when they read it. We shall later on print an editorial review of the "Report," and also some excerpts from its findings.

All Protestantism, says Professor Kirsopp Lake, in the current issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* (page 755), is divided into three parts. There are the Fundamentalists, the Institutionalists, and the Experimentalists. Thanks for that last word, Professor! That's where we belong—among the Experimentalists.

In connection with the calling of Dr. Fosdick to its ministry, the Park Avenue Baptist Church is described as the first Baptist church in the country to give up Baptism by immersion as a condition of membership. The Mt. Morris Baptist Church in New York, under the leadership of John Herman Randall, took this step more than a dozen years ago, and the Los Gatos Baptist Church in California, under the leadership of Robert W. Whitaker, did the same thing a little later. It is just as well to keep the record straight!

J. H. H.

THE DARK

I do not fear the night; and yet
How good the morn and noon, sunset
With all its splendid glory spread
Across the West in burning red;
How good the golden hours—each one
A vestal dancing to the sun!

I do not fear the night, and yet
When all the ebon sails are set
And slowly on the darkling tide
Depart the souls that have but died
And I am one of the forlorn,
I shall not dare to hope that morn
Will rise to greet us as we fare
Forth from the world we know not where.

If God there be, let Him show then
His love and mercy unto Men;
Let Him send dawn with sword of flame
To slay the dark, and let Him shame
My doubt and give me cause to praise
His justice through eternal days!

JAMES WALDO FAWCETT.

A Plea for *Laissez-Faire*

The Reports of the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship, held at Birmingham, England, in April, 1924, have been published in twelve volumes by Longmans, Green & Co. A good deal of concern is shown for the social effects of unchecked individualism, or what the economists used to term the principle of *laissez-faire*. Anxiety is felt for the welfare of "the many," whose needs appear to be different from the needs of the individuals composing the group. It is true that a business organization, run for the special enrichment of directors or stockholders, may be served best by subordinating the interests of the individual workers to that of their superiors, but the ideal of society, or the nation, or the community, is one in which the welfare of all its members is secured. The transition from absolutism, through limited monarchy and control by aristocracy, towards democracy, marks the development of this ideal.

In volume XI the report on Industry and Property, the libertarian ideas of the 18th century come in for criticism in connection with the shocking factory conditions that developed in England, conditions that began to improve only when laws were passed restricting the powers of the employers. The same theme was discussed recently by Sir William Ashley, in an address before the British Association at Toronto. The ideas of the French economists made headway in England, he said, because the landlords and capitalists were able to put their own interpretation on the meaning of freedom. The landlords felt free to enclose the commons and the capitalists to run their factories without regard to the lives of the workers. The State stepped in to protect the workers and the ideal of freedom made few converts, and has few advocates today, at least in academic and religious circles. The sociologist is never tired of denouncing *laissez-faire*, but this doctrine of equal freedom has a way of rising to confront the repeated failures of State regulation.

Those who hold the theory that individualists are impractical theorists take experience for their guide, and experience has convinced Sir William Ashley that, in England at least, while Free Trade has worked satisfactorily, the need of interference has also been demonstrated. It is tacitly assumed that equal freedom has been tried and found wanting. If *laissez-faire* could properly be construed to mean freedom for some at the expense of others, it would be justly discredited; but if, on the contrary, it means a sweeping away of all the barriers that handicap production and trade, it has yet to be given a fair test.

The same sort of argument is often resorted to to discredit democracy or Christianity. As Darwin's theory of the survival of the fittest is commonly misstated when used in support of war and oppression, so a partial application of the *laissez-faire* principle of Gournay and Turgot is made the excuse for industrial servitude. It happens, however, that by fittest Darwin meant not the physically strongest, but those best adapted to the natural environment; and *laissez-faire* instead of proposing an acceptance of laws that permitted the strong to plunder the weak, called for the abolition of all privileges.

The enclosure of the commons was contrary to the spirit of *laissez-faire*. The population cut adrift from the land, and deprived of the means of self-support, were forced into an unnatural intensity of competition with each other for employment as wage-earners. No longer able to make a living outside the factory, they were forced to accept long hours and unhealthy and dangerous surroundings, and were even driven to sacrifice their children to eke out a livelihood.

The liberation accomplished by the abandonment of the Protectionist system opened the way for an increased volume of trade and multiplied opportunities for employment, but a surplus of laborers still remained who had no recourse but to compete with each other for a chance to work. The key to the problem, as Cobden found, is the abolition of land monopoly, a privilege which stands as a direct denial of the principle of *laissez-faire*. The history of colonial settlement has abundantly proved that access to land is the greatest safeguard against exploitation of the workers, providing an alternative to wage-earning that enables them to make an effective bargain with the employers. The injustice embedded in our laws regarding land tenure has been recognized by an imposing list of thinkers from Quesnay to Henry George, but the privileges set up by the perversion of property rights are so widely distributed, and so tenaciously defended, that only the hardiest of agitators has the courage to deal boldly with the land question.

In spite of concessions made to organized labor in numerous attempts to improve conditions in mine and factory, in spite of the benefits the workers are supposed to derive from tariff taxes and the cruel and arbitrary laws restricting immigration, the old economic warfare continues, and grows more bitter. The legal invasions of personal liberty conceived in the interest of the employing class, have been matched by trade union restrictions, and strikes have reached proportions that begin to suggest revolution.

It may seem an act of goodwill to promise the workers a living wage and healthful working conditions, but the power granted to governments for purposes that have a benevolent intention may be used progressively to destroy all claim on the part of the individual to a private judgment. The governing bodies, the groups of politicians and public officials, who are in fact the State, increase in numbers and authority with every law that calls for the regulation of the private lives of the citizens, and in the end these lives will be made to contribute to the further growth of the governing power, or will be sacrificed to maintain it. The patriotic propaganda of the public school prepares the way for conscription. The State that undertakes to save the child from the dangers of the workshop will not scruple later to force him into the trenches. When all our actions are regulated by authority we shall have created the servile State, a goal different from that described by the Committee on Politics and Citizenship as "the development of personality in fellowship." For the personality to develop it must be given freedom, in which the judgment and conscience may become strong through use.

The Committee approaches the heart of the problem when it says,

> Just as the feudal privilege and political monopoly enjoyed by the aristocracy were questioned by a class-conscious bourgeoisie in the social crisis of the 18th century, even so are the economic privilege and cultural monopoly of the upper strata of modern society challenged today by a large body of those who hold themselves unjustly excluded therefrom.

One would think that to repeal privilege and monopoly,

and replace it by equality of opportunity, would come near to being a solution of the problem, but unfortunately equality of opportunity is regarded by many well-meaning critics of social conditions simply as opportunity to join the ranks of the plutocracy. It is not perceived that there could be no plutocracy where there was no power by which some could command the labor of others without returning a fair equivalent. It is not wealth but the power to oppress that is evil. If equality of opportunity provided the means for the less swift in the race still to supply their most pressing wants, great wealth would lose its power of compulsion.

It is encouraging to be told that the investigation reveals in the Christian mind a "deep desire and strong determination to make an end of the types of social arrangement that breed ill-will, unrest and strife"; but to accomplish this laudable purpose it is necessary to formulate a plan that goes to the root of the matter and deals with the original causes of friction. It may not be out of place in this connection to recall the words of an 18th century statesman, whose wisdom as an administrator and whose idealism were of the highest order.

> "God," said Turgot, "by giving wants to man, and making his recourse to work necessary to supply them, has made the right to work the property of every man, and this property is the first, the most sacred, the most imprescriptible of all."

It follows that,

> every able-bodied man ought to procure his subsistence by his labor, because if he were fed without working, it would be so at the cost of those who work. What the State owes to all its members is the destruction of the obstacles which impede them in their industry, or which trouble them in the enjoyment of the product which is its recompense. While these obstacles subsist, particular benefits will not diminish the general poverty, for the cause will remain untouched.

Eastbourne, Sussex. FRANK W. GARRISON.

Lenin and Gandhi

History will rank Lenin and Gandhi as the two most influential men of this period. Each of them has secured and held the allegiance of more people than any other leader. For a brief period Woodrow Wilson outranked them in leadership of the common people of the world, but his star rapidly fell and his influence belongs to the future, not the present.

It is a strange coincidence that these two men of such different training, environment, and temperament, one the product of the cold North and the other the child of the warm South, should have so many characteristics in common. This fact may throw some light on the type of leadership that will increasingly develop as the masses come more and more into power.

Lenin and Gandhi came from the same class. Gandhi's father was of the merchant caste and came to positions of influence in public life. Lenin's father was an educational administrator who attained the rank of petty noble. From this background, they both came to live and work for the undeveloped multitudes, Lenin by way of exile and the constant dangers of a revolutionist's career; Gandhi by way of renunciation of the income and position of a highly paid lawyer. To Lenin the world-wide social revolution for which he worked meant a larger life for the millions, and to Gandhi freedom for India means emancipation for the toilers of the villages and the rapidly developing industrial cities. Neither man makes any bid for the affection of the people by any parade of devotion to their interests. Lenin added to the reserve of the North the Communists' suspicion of idealism, but after his death his wife, Krupskaia as she is affectionately called, had to say in her brief and simple memorial statement: "Nicolai loved the common people and lived only to serve them, though he never said anything about it." Gandhi puts in the forefront of his program the removal of "untouchability," that is, the barrier of isolation which has kept the lower castes and the outcasts, "the untouchables," away from the best things and the best influences of life. Also his demand for universal hand spinning and weaving has another motive than the release of India from the grip of the British cotton manufacturers and market. He thinks it will restore the old economic well-being of the villagers by giving them an occupation for their spare time.

But the devotion of the common people of Russia to Lenin and of India to Gandhi is not due to any intellectual appreciation of their programs but rather to a broad sense that they are aimed at the common welfare, and more particularly to an intuitive recognition of the fact that these men are absolutely disinterested. Here after all is the essence of leadership in an increasingly democratic world—the people must feel that their representatives are without ulterior motive, that they have no axes to grind. The proof of this in the cases of Lenin and Gandhi is the bare simplicity of their lives. In outward circumstances they shared the lot of the millions so far as was reasonably possible by taking only the necessary minimum of food and clothing. When Russia was on food rations and the peasants, hearing that Lenin was not well, sent him gifts of extra food, he passed it on to the common stores. When his associates put something extra in the drawer of his work table in the hope that he would absentmindedly take it, they found it untouched. Gandhi dresses with a few yards of homespun cotton. He rides in the overcrowded and unsanitary third class and by his personal testimony has forced some improvements in a situation which as he points out makes money off the discomfort of the poor in order to enable the rich to ride in spacious luxury.

These men also share a dislike of being waited upon. They think it necessary that one should do all things possible for oneself. After Lenin was partially paralyzed and had lost the use of his right hand, the doctor one day discovered that he had taught himself to write with the left, by persuading an attendant to bring him pencil and pad and practising unobserved beneath the blanket. Gandhi insists on doing his own "sweeper" work which in India without modern sanitary conveniences, means one of the most disagreeable tasks of the household to which the "sweeper" class have been confined by the custom of caste.

It is this living of their word, the doing of the thing instead of merely talking about it, which has enshrined these men in a sure place in the hearts of their humbler fellow countrymen. And this sure instinct for reality on the part of uneducated people is one of the big guarantees of human progress. It is for this reason that crowds from all over Russia come constantly to see the body of Lenin as it lies, preserved by a new process,

in the simple yet beautiful wooden tomb surrounded by a lovely garden, under the walls of the Kremlin, in the great Red Square. It is for this reason that the crowds all over India shout their "Gandhi forever" whenever he appears, and personally give him the reverence that is almost worship, while he is constantly saying, "I do not want you to shout *Gandhi forever,* I want you to do the things that I say."

These men are also alike in their supreme self-confidence, which is not mere egotism but a certainty in the rightness of their message and program as being something more than their own. It is however of a different source in each case. Lenin was convinced of the correctness of his logical analysis, he felt sure that he had rightly read history and applied it to the present course of events. Hence in two of the greatest discussions with his comrades concerning decisions that were vital to the future of the Russian revolution, it is recorded of him in one case that after speaking he went out and sat alone on the stairs to play a little lonely game with his knife, and in the other that he covered his head with his coat so that he might not hear the debate. In each case his associates finally came to his view and the course of events proved that he was right, so that in the later years his powers of analysis were regarded by them as unerring. He regarded this as scientific precision. Gandhi on the other hand is led by an inner urge which he regards as the voice of God. He gains little or nothing from the experience of others. He follows the compulsion of great principles which seem to him divine and like Lenin he goes his own way heedless that others counsel differently. When most of his friends urged him to discontinue his twenty-one days' fast, lest his life be lost to India, he replied that it was his duty to finish it in penance for his mistakes and the sins of his countrymen, that he had studied the discipline of fasting and was sure he would come through, and that moreover his counsellors had not reckoned with the power of prayer.

Despite this supreme self-confidence, Lenin and Gandhi share a capacity for publicly admitting error, which is rarely found in great leaders. The idea of "saving face" which is responsible for most of the hypocrisy and duplicity of politicians does not lead them astray. "Let us hope that we will make fewer mistakes this year than last" was a part of Lenin's brief New Year's message to Russia, and Gandhi now abandons "non-cooperation" as a national policy, because he was mistaken in the belief that India was ready to carry it through on the basis of non-violence.

There are, however, differences between these two men, as vital as their similarities, and these may prove the determining factor in locating their final place in the story of mankind. Their common disinterested devotion to the interests of the common people as they see them determines the amount of allegiance they now receive, but their ultimate contribution to the welfare of mankind will be settled by their basic principles.

In the matter of religion they are diametrically opposed. Lenin is anti-religion, believing not only that religion as he knew it was superstitious, corrupt and enslaving, but that science alone is the true guide for human conduct. Gandhi, on the other hand, finds all his inspiration and motivation in religious sources, and looks forward to a future society in which science shall serve religious ideals.

From this divergent ground there develops an absolute difference in the basic principles underlying their respective programs and goals. Lenin's philosophy is a philosophy of power, his program a program of force. Gandhi's philosophy is a philosophy of love, his program of non-violence. Lenin would emancipate the people by organizing their latent power and expressing it in absolute control of the state through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the means to the co-operative commonwealth whose final bond would be not force but co-operation. Gandhi would set India free by developing the spiritual resistance of its people until it would disarm and dissolve all opposition, and, by the demonstration of its love, make impossible for very shame, the continuance of an alien rule. Lenin says we will overcome the force of the oppressor by more force of the same kind. Gandhi says we will overcome it by a different kind of force. Thus in overcoming evil with good we will transform evil into good, in ourselves as well as in others, and so reduce its power in the future.

Which of these utterly different principles will secure the desired results it is too early to say. Certain things can be put down to the credit of each of them. The Red Army has put down counter-revolution and kept other nations out of Russia. Whether the coercive proletarian state will give Russia freedom remains to be seen. Gandhi's method has given India a strength and her cause a standing before the world which no other policy could have done. Whether England will yield in time is yet to be told.

There are even bigger issues at stake. On the conflict of ideas and ideals embodied by Lenin and Gandhi turns the future of mankind. The people at the bottom must come up into a larger life. Are they to get it by gradual accommodation and sharing on the part of those who now have more privileges and opportunities, or will they be forced into a struggle of power which will destroy the very elements of civilization? The answer lies first of all and most of all not with them but with the people of privilege.

The World Tomorrow. —*Harry F. Ward.*

CHEFOO BAY

CHINA IN THE EVENING TIME

Sunset, Beloved,
Clouds of mauve, of flame
Caress the ships
That rest within the Bay.

Ships with funnels
Dead and stark
Against a living sky.

Two pointed junks
With tired, hanging sails
Are resting out beyond
The gates of stone.

Red lights, green lights,
And many sprinkled yellow stars
Shine from the battle ships
That talk with fire.

And little boats, man moved,
Like restless chips of darkness,
Slowly come within the Bay
Until the night is past.

The moon is orange,
Is young and shy.
Too young and shy
To guard the ships all night.

DOROTHY ROWE.

A DREAM OF FAIR PEOPLES

I
SEARCH

Wondrous glory of the Night!
High aloft earth's dome is bright.
Round the Pole the star-host turns;
Brilliantly Orion burns.

Vainly outward into space
Wanders Thought life's good to trace.
Nations in the gloom still grope;
Has their darkness any hope?

Times from shore a dim-lit pier
Seems o'er ocean's depths to steer.
Valiantly men creep—or haste:
Reach the end! . . . a watery waste.

Tireless o'er the deep profound
Wings the dove of peace; . . . no ground.
Still she soars. Shall flood subside?—
Ark of Man to safety glide?

Though at times its crust may crack,
Never has the earth swung back!
Sunward man still lifts his face,
Sunward swings the human race.

II
"GOOD-BYE, PROUD WORLD!"

(In May and June)

Now when the birds sing gaily
  And violets bloom again,
I leave to dullards the daily
  Burden of mingling with men.
Forsaking their selfish seekings
  I turn to the road and wood,
Where thought of the city's reekings
  Is sunk in rich solitude.

Yea, rich are these quiet reaches
  Of meadows where daisies dream;
Where the luring buttercup preaches
  Of gold that has harmless gleam.
The leaves of the white birch flutter
  And kiss me on either cheek,
And the brook in the trail-side gutter
  Is laughing and trying to speak.

The oven-bird tells he is "Teacher"
  Of lore no professor knows—
Though the thrush deems him only a screecher
  When his own soft flute-tone flows!
The sun in the forest-clearing
  Cries "Welcome! Come frolic with me!
Afar, life's sharp scissors for shearing;
  Here, keenest-edged bliss of the free!"

III
HURLY-BURLY

Deep in the depths of the earth the click
Resounds of the miner's pick. . . .
And cities are heated; bright glad eyes
Gaze out as the Pullman flies.

Tossing on angry and windswept deep,
Smoke-blackened freighters creep.
Oranges, pine-apples, silks, and teas . . .
Deck-hands and stokers bring these!

Sparks from electric brushes flying,
Type-keys tapping, a ghostly sighing
In melted lead; in a basement nook
Ink-daubed pressmen . . . a book!

Miles of wire where hill-ways go,
Thrashed down in tempest and snow.
Strong quick arms, ice-numbed, toil there . . .
Men speak again through the air.

An editor's desk; a soul on the heights;
A thinker, world-weighted, writes.
He has faith that better things may be;
He casts his bread on the sea.

IV
"IN GREEN PASTURES AND BESIDE STILL WATERS"

O Daisy fair, O Daisy fair!
You sing to me an anthem rare—
  With chorus from the middle skies
  Where Bobolink exultant flies.
O Daisy fair, O Daisy fair!

O Goldenrod, O Goldenrod!
Born brightest bloom of air and sod!
  Rich, symboled wealth, undreamed, unknown;
  Outvying Caliph's jeweled throne.
O Goldenrod, O Goldenrod!

O Aster blue, O Aster blue!
I almost kneel to worship you!
  From skyey realms you came in part—
  A dream that thrilled an angel's heart.
O Aster blue, O Aster blue!

Wild Rose of June, Wild Rose of June!
Are you a bodied Schubert tune?
  Are you the air Beethoven played
  When seraphs round his key-board strayed?
Wild Rose of June, Wild Rose of June!

O Violet, O Violet!
Sweet child with cheeks all dewy wet!
  I see in you—half hid in mould—
  The Woodland Babes of story old!
O Violet, O Violet!

O Cardinal, O Cardinal!
With flame you fill the brook up full!
  Your friendly fire seems Nature's voice,
  And says to man, "Rejoice! Rejoice!"
O Cardinal, O Cardinal!

V
DISCOVERY

Thus flames life's open secret!
  Its word, Enjoy the Now!
Make sweet what strength and insight
  From day to day allow!

The Law of Life is simple:
  Men tangle it and weep.
Join in with Nature's forces,
  O Man, and know their sweep!

Earth gives unbounded riches;
  Her board for all is spread . . .
And some men blaze with baubles
  And some men starve for bread.

The poor! . . . the poor in spirit! . . .
  The poor in roof and dress!
O you enrobed in purple,
  Envisage nakedness!

Through ages seers and prophets
  Have limned transcendent way . . .
And men still stagger blindfold
  And cringe and curse and pray.

O crowned among the nations
  That first seeks selfless ends!
More rich than oil of Irak
  The spikenard binding friends!

Is this the white man's burden—
  To bend 'neath stolen pack?
Might's grandeur is in service,
  And not in loot and wrack.

More wealth inheres in honor
  Than Philippines can pour;
Love's harvest outgrows Egypt's
  Though Nile ran golden ore.

The good of all earth's children
  Alone can bring earth bliss;
To heal the woe of ages
  The East and West must kiss.

Ponder, ye foolish peoples!
  Seek justice! follow right!
Then grief shall turn to gladness,
  Your darkness shall be light.

JAMES H. WEST.

The Story of My Mind

XVI

The labor agitations followed in some degree the trend of the reform movements and parties, with which they were more or less closely affiliated. For the most part, however, as has been indicated, the reform movements belonged to the farmers and middle-class members of society, though all the attempts at a radical change in conditions grew more or less directly out of industrial and economic causes which affected the wage-earning class as well as the farmers. This distinction may be regarded as important, that the reforms proceeded from the fact that the classes burdened with debt demanded political changes, while the wage-workers used the method of craft or industrial organizations, strikes, and attempts at lessening the hours of wages.

The trade-union of one kind or another had existed in this country since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and some feeble attempts had been made at federating all unions into one body, as well as at a political defense of the workers' rights. The first effective organization was the Knights of Labor, brought about at Philadelphia in 1869. In 1886 the order had reached the number of about a million members, but it soon began to lose in numbers and influence. According to its declaration of principles it stood for the securing "to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create," and the establishment of the referendum in the making of all laws. It also aimed at the abrogation of all laws not bearing equally on laborers and capitalists, and the government possession of all telegraphs, telephones, and railroads. Co-operation, equal suffrage, an eight-hour day, and the use of arbitration were among its other propositions. Its fifth plank read as follows:

> The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. Taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

This paragraph indicates the wide diffusion of the single-tax theory, which gained in this manner a large recognition.

It is not necessary to review the attempts of the working-class to secure better conditions by means of strike. The Haymarket riot of 1886 in Chicago, with the punishment of eight participants, was one of the most dramatic of these episodes. The Homestead strike of 1892, the anthracite coal strike of the same year, and the Pullman strike of 1894, were highly important phases of the struggles of labor to secure what it has a right to claim, a just share of what it produces. The growth of poverty, a vast army of the unemployed, the great enlargement of the city populations, the spread of tuberculosis, insanity, and various forms of physical and mental degeneracy, were among the problems claiming serious attention. More especially, the gigantic growth of monopoly, the rapid evolution of the trusts, the increasing power of wealth and its concentration, in a word, the advance of capitalism, caused the most anxious discussion on the part of those who might be assumed to be competent to deal with such problems.

Populism, nationalism, single-tax, free silver, bimetalism, profit-sharing were among the devices offered for the remedying of the conditions which had rapidly developed in the period following the Civil War. For a time each of these proposals was accepted by many persons, and several of them continue to hold their place, as is the case with the single-tax theory, though it has not that enthusiastic approval which greeted it at one time. Nationalism, free silver, and profit-sharing have gone their way, and at present have scarcely a word spoken in their behalf, though at one time they had a wide hearing. Nationalism has been supplanted by socialism, but the profit-sharing proposal, though not wholly dead, receives at present no general attention. In theory it was an admirable proposal, which brought the worker into the sharing of profits with his employer; but it was not radical enough to bring about any positive results. It did not eliminate wages, while it failed to make the worker in any real sense an owner of a share in the factory where he labored. On the other hand, it relieved him of the responsibility of sharing in the losses which failure might produce. These defects have eliminated the profit-sharing proposal rather effectually from the list of genuine reforms.

I have thought it best to recite these facts in regard to the reform movements of the period I have been considering without the interposition of comments as

to my own relations to them or how I regarded them as they were passing before me from year to year. Not only was I a Liberal in 1872, but I was an Independent or Mugwump in 1884. I rejoiced in the election of Cleveland, as I sorrowed in the defeat of Greeley. And yet I did not withdraw wholly from the Republican party, voting with it from time to time, but never with entire satisfaction. Nor can I say that the Democrats often pleased me, though I voted with them as often as for the other party. I regarded myself as an independent, and frequently divided my voting between the two parties. I was convinced that the growth of independency was in every way desirable, and that giving my suffrage to the man best fitted for the office sought was an important end to secure. Every evidence that men were becoming more independent of party, and all evidences that a growing number of voters were swinging from one party to the other, rejoiced me greatly.

At the same time I was becoming more and more dissatisfied with the evident corruption of politics, and at the failure of all attempts at reform. This feeling led me into the Prohibition Party for two or three years, about 1888, and I once attended the state convention of that party as a spectator. When the Prohibitionists turned against the Norwegian or Gothenberg proposal to take the liquor traffic out of private control for profit-getting, when it was voted on and defeated in Massachusetts, I ceased to regard that party with any degree of approval whatever.

As I have already indicated, I was a thoroughly convinced individualist, and I had no confidence at this period in any proposals looking to the municipalization or the nationalization of industries or the means of transportation and manufacture. It seemed to me that individual effort was essential, and I believed that the spirit of fellowship and co-operation would bring about all needed changes demanded by the growing life of mankind. For this reason the Nationalist movement did not appeal to me, although I watched it with a curious interest. The Populist party did not win my approval, and I regarded it with a large degree of contempt, as I had previously the Greenback and Free Silver parties. They seemed to me without a rational foundation, to be largely sentimental and spasmodic in their character, and not to have a scientific justification for their theories and proposals.

When Bellamy's book appeared I gave it a rather reluctant reading, saw its mechanical and absolutist proposals to be seriously defective, and could not think that there was any real promise in this romance of a perfected city. I listened attentively to the advocates of this utopian reformation, as I did to the advocates of the single-tax, but without being fully convinced.

I think that I may justly say that I was a reformer without any distinct reforms to which I was wholly committed. The civil service reform won my entire approval, however, as did all proposals for the democratization of the ballot and the methods of government. The suggestions as to the initiative, referendum, recall, proportional representation, and others of a similar nature, appealed to me as soon as they were brought forward. The single-tax theory also won my attentive regard, although I saw in it no panacea. At an early period of my studies in political economy I was led to accept the conclusions of John Stuart Mill, Harriet Martineau, and Herbert Spencer in his "Social Statistics," that land should belong to the nation, and ought not to be privately owned and monopolized. Their arguments were convincing to me, and prepared my mind for an attentive hearing of George's proposals.

During the labor agitations beginning in the later years of the '80's I was very largely in sympathy with the workers, and felt that their demands were just and right. While I deprecated all violence and rioting as means of securing the results they sought, I was convinced that they had a serious grievance, that they were not being justly dealt with, and that their methods of organization, protest, and legislative demand were in every respect justified. When I most strongly queried as to the methods used, I was in warmest sympathy with the workers. As expressing my sympathy I accepted initiation into the local organization of the Knights of Labor in Dedham, though I did not attend any subsequent meeting. It was at this time that I requested of the publishers of the *Nation* in New York a discontinuance of that journal to my address because of its attitude on the labor question. I felt so keenly on the subject that for the first time I discarded a journal because of my positive disagreement with its policies.

The Haymarket strike, and the wild orgy of official and anarchistic protest which it excited throughout the country from the governing and intellectual classes, found me in sympathy with the victims of this situation. I felt that it was wrong and unjust that these men should be condemned to death under the circumstances; and it appears to me now to be without doubt that they were guiltless of the alleged crime for which they suffered. I became convinced that there existed an unreasoning and unreasonable prejudice against the wage-earning class, a determination to keep them in subjection, and a blind spirit of infatuation and mob passion which frequently controlled the intellectual and political leaders of the nation.

As I followed from year to year the reform movements and parties I became slowly convinced that the very measures by means of which their advocates sought to secure for them a degree of success by affiliation with the Democratic or minority party insured the ultimate failure of what they aimed to secure. The Liberal, the Populist, and the Independent parties, as a result of their amalgamation with the Democratic party, lost their separate existence and failed in securing what they demanded in the nature of reforms. Having noted these results I felt certain, in 1884, that the Independent movement, with which I was in fullest sympathy, had made a grievous mistake when it gave up its autonomy to the Democrats for the sake of immediate success. Had it remained an independent organization, continued its own distinct and greatly needed activities, I felt convinced it might hope for some definite results. The demand for immediate success to its measures led to its own extinction, and to the failure of the changes it proposed, with the inability of the Democratic party to represent the spirit and method of genuine reform.

I also became convinced that there is no panacea for industrial, economic, and political defects in existing society. The acceptance of civil service reform as an end in itself seemed to me a serious mistake. While it was a highly desirable reform, it would leave the fundamental causes of political corruption very nearly where they were before. Nor could I think that national ownership of the railroads, the concentration of taxation upon land values, or a greenback, silver or gold basis for money, would ultimately eliminate any of the

great wrongs which existed in the land. I became convinced that there was something deeper than any of these immediate issues to be sought for in order to provide an effective remedy. I did not understand what this real source of corruption was or why reforms failed in such disastrous reiteration. While I was in large degree convinced that democracy in itself provides its own defences and capacities for recuperation and renewal, I could give no effective analysis of the situation or suggest a precise means for remedying the defects which caused severe burdens to fall upon the great majority of the people, both wage-earners and farmers alike. I realized that they were oppressed and burdened, but I saw not the way to an effective remedy. Perhaps I was too optimistic in regard to the whole situation to be able to comprehend the nature of industrial and economic oppression, for I was very strongly patriotic in the years to which I now refer. I shared in the conviction that ours is the freest and most progressive country in the world, that it represents liberty for all, and that it will ultimately free itself of its defects and secure life, liberty and happiness for all. The teaching I imbibed with the deepest conviction in youth, that ours is truly a land of the free and home of the brave, a land of oppression and enslavement for none, of opportunity and success for all, continued to dominate my thinking. I looked forward with liveliest hope to the working out to successful issue of these results, and to the making ours a country of freedom, justice, and noble living. I preached this conclusion with enthusiasm, and believed it with all my heart and mind.

I became convinced that civic activity and loyalty, the devoting of one's life to the promotion of the general welfare, in a word, a practical as well as a theoretical patriotism, was in every way desirable. I contended that a devotion to country in times of peace as great and unquestioning at that given to it in times of war was greatly demanded. This larger patriotism appealed to me, inspired my faith in country, and gave emphasis to my words and activities as trying in some small way to enlarge the boundaries of national pride and fidelity to its fundamental principles of civic freedom and opportunity for all. Undoubtedly I was blinded by my patriotism, but it was not unthinking or merely sentimental. Opportunity for individual freedom, together with a strongly ethical sense of co-operative working with others, were the two primary conclusions at which I had arrived.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To Be Continued)

THE STUDY TABLE

Stranger Than Fiction

This book* has the initial disadvantage of suggesting immediate comparison with Van Loon's "The Story of Mankind." What Hendrick Van Loon has done for the human race, Lewis Browne attempts to do for the Jews. Here is the same simple, straightforward, concise narrative, the same humanistic viewpoint, the same original and somewhat crude illustrations—not pictures this time of places and events, but "animated maps" showing the unparalleled wanderings of this tribe of men over wide spaces of the world. Comparisons are soon forgotten, however, in the discovery that Rabbi Browne is no mere imitator of a master! By dint of his own native ability and resource, this later author masters the common medium for his especial purposes, and thus gives us a book well deserving judgment on its own merits.

These merits are of a high order. With no pretensions either to profound scholarship or great literary and artistic skill, Rabbi Browne has produced a handbook of Jewish history which answers every demand of popular usage. Beginning with the earliest traditions of his people, he follows down, with no slavish adherence to the scriptural text, through the Biblical times to the terrible days of the "Dispersion," traces the agonies of the scattered tribe in the dark centuries of European experience, and comes at last to the modern escape from the ghetto, the struggle for Reformed Judaism, and the dreams of Zionism. It is a marvellous story, as heroic as it is tragic, "stranger than fiction" indeed. Told so that any intelligent child may understand, the tale as set down in this volume is worthy of careful adult attention. It is a sort of universal text-book.

We are not familiar enough with Jewish literature to know whether this book has any rivals or not. We can only state that it fills a gap in our library. And when anybody asks for a good history of the Jews in the future this is the volume to which we shall refer.

J. H. H.

*"Stranger Than Fiction—A Short History of the Jews." Written and illustrated by Lewis Browne. Published by Macmillan.

The Muse Attacks Prohibition

Edwin Arlington Robinson, in his new volume of poetry,* gives us a mingling of good and bad. Certain pieces are not only characteristic of this famous writer, but in his best style. "Mortmain," for example, could have been written by no other living poet than the author of "Captain Craig" and "Roman Bartholow," and is not inferior to these poems, although built on smaller lines. "Genevieve and Alexandra' is equally characteristic, but undistinguished.

Three groups of "Sonnets" contain some specimens which may well be granted a Pulitzer prize for sheer obscurity. Others, however, such as "Haunted House," "Glass Houses," "Reunion," and most notably, "The Sheaves," must take rank as among the greatest poems that have come from Mr. Robinson's pen. "The Sheaves" is a masterpiece of the first order.

But what shall be said of the first and the last poems in this book—"Dionysius in Doubt" and "Demos and Dionysius"? There seems to be something so incongruous in the entrance of Mr. Robinson into the prohibition debate, something so amusing in his dedication of his esoteric powers to the uses of political propaganda, that we confess we find it difficult to judge these pieces, without prejudice, purely as literature. Perhaps we can do no better than simply to state that we found these anti-prohibition poems awkward, unconvincing, not a little absurd. As it is the fashion to compare Mr. Robinson with Robert Browning, let us say that we would rank them with the older master's "Mr. Sludge, the Medium."

J. H. H.

*"Dionysius in Doubt" by Edwin Arlington Robinson, published by Macmillan, 1925.

CORRESPONDENCE

A PLEDGE AGAINST WAR

Editor UNITY:

It is only recently that I have heard of a pledge against war which has been circulated in England for several months and has given much favorable comment. It was formulated by David Archer Peat, a British newspaper man. It is approved by such leaders of thought as H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy, Norman Angell and the Bishop of London.

This pledge has been subscribed to by thousands of persons in England and was adopted last August at the Conference of the C. O. P. E.•C. It reads as follows:

ARBITRATE FIRST

"Believing that Law must take the place of War in the settlement of international disputes, we, the undersigned, desiring to uphold our country in all that makes for righteous strength, solemnly pledge ourselves to withhold service from any Government which refuses to submit the causes of the dispute to an international court or which refuses to accept the arbitral decision so given."

It seems rather strange that this pledge has not received more notice from peace workers in this country and been given more publicity. Why would it not be a good idea for members of peace societies, for all workers for Peace, members of the Society of Friends, conscientious objectors, and in short, for everyone who sincerely and honestly desires permanent Peace and believes that the world would be more civilized under a regime of Peace than subject to intermittent periods of collective homicide, to copy and sign this pledge and forward it to Washington so that the President might know without question the mind of the people on this subject?

We proudly proclaim ourselves a peace-loving people. Does this avowal ring true? Or does it expose us to the charge of hypocrisy? No knowledge is of value, no principle of benefit, unless concretely applied to daily living. Over and again the assertion has been made that our government is ready to conform to a demand from its citizens if the demand is sufficiently unified. What, then, are we as individuals ready and willing to do that will give unimpeachable evidence of our deep, unconquerable desire for peace—that will prove the justice of the claim that we are peace-loving—since the issue depends on the aroused and discriminating thought of every one of us? No adult can honorably shirk responsibility in this matter. Every one should be ready to voice his conviction if it be honest—if he is sincere in the profession of belief that war is a sin and a curse to the world. No person is so humble that he should refrain from some deed, or from the expression of an opinion, that would help strengthen a righteous cause. Suppose, out of our 120,000,000 inhabitants, there were between 5,000,000 and 10,000,000 adults who would sign the above pledge and send to Washington, would it not have the effect of hastening somewhat the rather dilatory movements of our governmental officials toward procedures that would definitely and decisively make for lasting peace?

There are many persons in the United States (perhaps quite a number in other countries) who believe that the government of this country has before it the greatest opportunity for service to the whole world ever offered in assuming the leadership, in a courageous and uncompromising manner, for the abolition of international warfare. That consummation can be achieved if only the will for it is strong enough.

Brookline, Mass. LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

A WORD FOR THE TURK

To Diana Agabeg Apcar,
Kobe, Japan.

Dear UNITY Sister:

Considering your letter in UNITY, March 16, '25, aren't you a bit prejudiced against our brother Turk? If all those millions really have been killed in the Near East, as reported from time to time, what wonder there is any one left—unless these people are extremely prolific in spite of their persecutions. If we had access to a Turkish press—to tell the other side of the story—perhaps we would know more about it. A lawyer's daughter from here, holds a position as teacher in mathematics in Turkey, and thus far we haven't heard of her massacre.

If it wasn't that Turkey blocked the way for Christians to cut in on the "Berlin to Bagdad" R. R., perhaps the Turk wouldn't have been painted such a bad boy. It apparently makes a difference whose ox is gored.

Christian nations surely have done their share in killing and causing to die millions *and millions* of innocent Christians the world over—yet we look on and suffer it to be so now.

Mr. Kemel only asked fair play for his country at Lausanne, so why the hateful criticism when Christians only observed the Golden Rule? If as much had been done at Versailles we might, in a measure, be justified in calling ourselves Christians.

Aside from the millions slaughtered by Christians before, during, and since the World War, look at the world-wide misery caused by the opium trade—also carried on thru Christians.

A missionary in China was asked "What do the Chinese think of the way Christian nations are going at each other?" He replied: "O I don't tell them those are Christians."

Why this hypocrisy—setting ourselves above the poor heathen? Surely, Sister, there can be "no peace in Christendom" when people hold the aggressive opinion your letter implies. When Christians are ready to live and let live, and not hate our neighbor—then a vast stride towards overcoming war will have been taken.

Sincerely yours,

Watertown, Wis. CLARA KUENZI.

MERLE ST. CROIX WRIGHT

The announcement of the death of the Rev. Merle St. Croix Wright, for thirty-one years the minister of the Lenox Avenue Unitarian Church, New York, must have brought a shock of surprise as well as of grief to many of your readers. It is not easy to realize the extinction of that radiant personality, so instinct with life and energy. To all those who came into personal contact with Dr. Wright, whether as members of the congregation which he served for so many years, or as attendants at his lectures on life and letters, or in the intimacies of his private life, his going is the passing of an influence which gave new values to the difficult art of living. I knew him in all these relations, and I can truthfully say that I have never known a gayer spirit, a more brilliant talker or a more inspiring teacher.

His sermons were, indeed, "caviar to the general," but to the thoughtful men and women who came regularly, many of them from a great distance, to hear him in the old Lenox Avenue church he was a profound and moving religious influence. His scriptures were the writings and the living deeds of all time, and these he interpreted with incomparable lucidity in their bearing on the life of the men and women of the present day. He was, of course, a liberal of the liberals, but he held himself above the battle. He never condescended to controversy, which seemed to him the outstanding vice of our present-day theology, but trusted to the faith that the truth would make us free.

It was characteristic of his many-sided and energetic nature that the few years that were left to him after his retirement from his ministry in 1920 should have been devoted to the enthusiastic pursuit of studies in poetry and art. He experimented in many forms of verse and produced a considerable body of poetry of far more than average merit. It is to be hoped that a selection of his verses may yet be given to the public.

At the close of a life such as this, so inconspicuous but so bravely and ardently lived, no more fitting words can be uttered than those spoken by Matthew Arnold in his memorial verses addressed to his father:

O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now? For that force,
Surely, has not been left vain!
Somewhere, surely, afar.
In the sounding labor-house vast
Of being, is practiced that strength
Zealous, beneficient, firm!

New York City. GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY.

AN ENCOURAGING WORLD

Editor of UNITY:

In sending enclosed check for $3.00, I take pleasure in expressing the great help which your weekly message brings to my study. Keep up the good work, and believe me to be

Sincerely your friend,

California Legislature, RUDOLPH I. COFFEE,
Oakland, California Chaplain of the Assembly.

THE WAY OF PEACE

To the Editor of UNITY:

Dr. Cadman's statement in behalf of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ—"We place justice first in all our dealings, and peace next"—seems to me misleading, in that it im-

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

LEADING FACTS IN THE WHEELER CASE

The summary of the facts demonstrates:

1. The prosecution of Senator Wheeler is the result of a political conspiracy to stop the investigations of the Teapot Dome and Department of Justice scandals.

2. Senator Wheeler would not have been indicted either in Montana or in Washington if the ordinary processes of justice had been pursued.

3. The testimony of the four witnesses upon whom the Government prosecutors relied to convict Senator Wheeler was impeached and wholly discredited.

4. The "star witness" for the Government prosecutors, George B. Hayes, who was used as a surprise witness so that his record could not be revealed during the trial, was known to the Department of Justice as a man who had defrauded the Federal government of hundreds of thousands of dollars and had been saved from criminal prosecution only by the statute of limitations.

5. The Washington indictment of Senator Wheeler rests primarily upon the false testimony of this disreputable witness.

The Wheeler Defense Committee is an emergency organization with a triple purpose:

First: To reduce as far as possible the financial strain imposed upon Senator Wheeler by the attacks which resulted from the discharge of his public duty.

Second: To oppose the overthrow of the fundamental principle, established by our forefathers, which prohibits the dragging of citizens from their homes to be tried in distant courts amidst hostile influences.

Third: To protest against the use of the executive departments of the Government for personal or party revenge.

We appeal to men and women of the East—we appeal to men and women of the West—to put a firm American foot down on the insidiously dangerous beginning here pointed out.

Help us with your generous contributions, backed up by your active goodwill, to accomplish our triple purpose. The legitimate and necessary expenses (while small compared with the Department's expenditures) will run well up into the thousands. Accounts will be properly audited.

Lend a hand—and let it not be an empty one!

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ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Date: September 10 to 13, 1925.

Place: Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa., about twelve miles from Philadelphia.

Subject: Peace or War in the Pacific? An Imminent Danger Zone.

Instead of discussing abstract questions, it has been thought best this year to take a concrete situation that holds within itself a challenge to fellowship principles from several angles, and center on that. The situation in the Pacific demands such attention. That area is more and more becoming a theater of world struggle. An immense commercial development is in progress, racial conflicts are embedded in the situation, religious rivalries are keen, and all of these questions are entangled with the growth of militaristic methods and the struggle for power. We cannot go into all those matters, but the growing importance of the problem demands the most searching examination we can give.

The striking feature of our approach is that each evening we will have some concrete aspect of the situation interpreted

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plies that war is sometimes necessary to establish justice. Such a belief is common, but it will not bear examination.

In war, each side claims to be fighting for justice, but it is impossible that each side should be victorious. History affords no warrant for the assumption that the victory will surely be obtained by the side that has the better claims to be fighting for justice. Might does not make right, but it is might and not right that brings military victory. "God is on the side of the strongest battalions," said Napoleon, and if his remark is limited to the "God of battles," it is quite true.

The very meaning of justice is that the weaker shall have an equality of privilege with the stronger. But war is nothing else than the assertion that the stronger shall have their way despite the objections of the weaker. Thus war is, in itself, the repudiation of justice.

How afraid many good people appear to be of saying that they "believe in peace at any price!" I believe in peace at any price that ever has to be paid for it. Cowardice, dishonor, slavishness, base submission to injustice, never enter into the necessary price of peace. The only price necessary is the exercise of common sense, and a modicum of common sense is enough. Rousseau said to the rulers of his time that in urging them to refrain from making war, he was only asking "that they should not be fools." Franklin was the nearest to an incarnation of common sense that our country can exhibit. He was right when he said: "There never was a good war, or a bad peace."

Brookline. HENRY W. PINKHAM.

PREPARING FOR WAR AND PREPARING FOR LIFE

To the Editor:

Congressman Longworth, at the dinner of the Harvard Club in Boston on April 6, said: "No Harvard man ever served a more useful purpose than the late Augustus Peabody Gardner. He was the first man to attempt to awaken the American people to the fact that we were utterly unprepared for war."

One wonders what such Harvard men of the last generation as Charles Sumner, Phillips Brooks and Edward Everett Hale would say to the idea that rousing our people for preparation for war was the greatest service which Harvard has conferred upon the country. One wonders what President Eliot would say to it. One wonders what 400 of the 500 Harvard men sitting at the dinner, with such a man as Le Baron Briggs in their midst, would say to it. It seems to some of us that the work of one Harvard man like Dean Briggs for a generation has served a purpose for Harvard and for American life incomparably greater, in preparing and inspiring thousands of young scholars for noble life, than the possible work of any hundred men in rousing the people to prepare for war. And there are others—scores of them, whose names will rise at once in the hearts of hundreds of young Harvard men, and older men, who have hearts.

Boston, Mass. BRADLEY STONE.

by two people of definitely opposed points of view. These will not be debates, but the presentation of opposite philosophies; then there will be a chance for free discussion by the Conference leading to conclusions as to what can be done about it.

Throughout the Conference there will be developed that atmosphere which has been characteristic of Fellowship gatherings, culminating in the period of worship on Sunday morning. We shall hope to have present people representative of widely varied racial, religious, economic and national backgrounds, who will make the Conference itself a laboratory of fellowship.

The setting for the Conference is unusually attractive. The authorities of Swarthmore College have generously offered the facilities of the institution. In addition to the halls and rooms, an open-air theater and other beautiful spots on the grounds will be available for the sessions. There are tennis courts and swimming pools and charming walks in the woods.

The rates for meals and lodging will be $2.50 per day. This is made possible by the fact that guests will be expected to care for their own rooms and bring their own towels. The Conference fee, to take care of expenses of speakers, printing, etc., will be $2.00. Reservations should be made in advance with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, 383 Bible House, New York City.

Save the date and interest some of your friends in coming.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF WAR RESISTERS

Americans expecting to visit England this summer may be interested in the International Conference of War Resisters, which will be held in London, from Friday, July 3, to Monday, July 6. Delegates and visitors are expected from all parts of the world. All will first meet at Enfield—close to London—on Friday afternoon, July 3rd, and then travel by special motors to the Conference Hall, High Leigh, Hoddesdon. The conference will extend over Saturday and Sunday and on Monday the party will return to London to attend a reception of the No More War Movement. To delegates and visitors from abroad there will be no charge for accommodations during the three days meetings. Any Americans expecting to attend this Conference would do well to get into communication with the Secretary, H. RUNHAM BROWN, "Fairleigh," 11 Abbey Road, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex, England.

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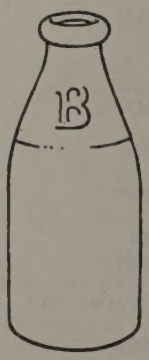
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